ble into dust.

President Garfield is reported to have said that the influence of Jefferson upon the politics of this country is rapidly waning, while that of Hamilton is as capidly increasing. He doubtless revealed in this remark the spirit of his own party and the secrets of its higher counsels. But that was all. He did not speak for the people, and perhaps, from his political situation, he could not if he would. Nothing can be more certain than that the theories of Hamilton, nakedly presented, would receive at the hands of this generation of his countrymen the same condemnation they received from the generation which originally passed upon them. The theories of Jefferson, on the other hand. are those upon which our forefathers deliberately established their institutions, and they are full as dear to their children as they were to them. Upon those theories the whole edifice of American liberty was reared; upon them rest the four corners of the grand but beautiful structure which not merely shelters the mil-Hons of freemen here, but offers a sure asylum or an approved model to mankind everywhere

Remove them, and the whole fabric must crum-

It is no marvel that Gen. Garfield, in the prime of life, and approaching the very height of a public career, which had been checked by no single reverse, should form a conviction that the influences which had sustained him and his party were invincible. He entered Congress in the war period. In common with the leaders of his party, he allied himself with special interests, corporate and otherwise, which then assumed an importance and power which they could not have acquired at a time when the public mind was employed with the ordinary concerns of Government, and which they cannot, we believe, hold after the settlement of the extraordinary questions arising out of the war. He was accustomed to see and admire the Government only in its most tremendous exhibitions of strength during anexceptional period; its enormous drafts upon the lives and property of the people, its vast fiscal and military operations, its imperial endowments of corporations, and its ruthless diseriminations in favor of the few as against the many in its tax laws, and, indeed, in its whole legislation and administration, from the hour in which he entered Congress to the hour in which he became President. His inaugural attests his belief that a revolution has been accomplished that the Constitution of 1787 has been construed and "administrationed" away: and that instead of the limited federal agency ordained by our forefathers we have a consolidated empire. But President Garfield and the chiefs of the socalled Republican party are wholly mistaken. The people are not prepared to abdicate local self-government. They do not believe the experiment a failure, nor are they yet willing to seek refuge in any form of government which shall be stronger than themselves.

IMPERIALISM PORESHADOWED. For twenty years the overmastering dread of

this people was that which arose from the mad attempt to destroy the Union; and their attention has been fixed upon the one point of danger. But things are safe there now, and they are beginning to look about them and take no count of what has happened in the interval. They poured out blood and money without stint to preserve the Union; but these were not the whole, nor, perhaps, the greatest, of their sacrifices. They tamely suffered the States to be robbed of power at every possible point of attrition between them and the Federal Government, and at some points where there was not even the excuse of attrition. They permitted the manufacturers who supplied our armies and those who furnished the munitions of war-the fortunate possessors of the furnaces, forges, mills, shops, and looms, who were able to render a timely service to the republic at an infinite private profit-to set themselves up a class apart, and under the war tariff to levy enormous tribute upon the industry of the people long after the peace. They allowed the capitalists who took the national loans, at shaves, each more ruin ous than the last, not merely to roll up great fortunes and acquire exclusive privileges, but to erect themselves into a permanent power, able to control the operations of the Treasury. to bind and loose the business of the country. political contests. They have seen the railway corporation, whose inestimable service to the cause of the Union was doubly paid for turn Into its coffers rich streams of subsidy from the proceeds of common taxation; appropriate the public domain, which was acquired by the first Democratic Administration, and which Mr. Jefferson fondly believed would remain an ample basis of public credit forever; lift itself into an imperiton in imperio : levy taxes, extort tribute, invale Congress, buy Legislatures, corrupt the political morals, and well nigh strangle the liberties of the nation. And in 1877 they saw all these classes and powers unite in the most hideous outrage ever suffered by any people of our race-the imposition of a Chief Magistrate not merely unchosen but overwhelmingly repullated at a regular and orderly election. But it does not follow that they intend to make these men their masters for all time. They have submitted thus far because they were too much preoccupied to resist. While the war lasted, while the federal relations of the secoding States remained in debate, an appeal to the supreme passion of Union was all that was necessary to divortation from any question less grave than that of national preservation.

HAMILTON'S ASSAULT ON THE CONSTITUTION.

The same passion was played upon in the same way by Hamilton and the "monocrats," who undertook to revolutionize the new Government by the assumption of implied powers at the close of the last century. It was ever stronger then than now. The pressure of British force was hardly withdrawn until the contending nations of Europe began to rival each other in the destruction of American commerce, and the young republic for years trembled on the verge of a conflict wherein the firmest union of the States would have been as Important as during the Revolution. Secession at that time meant simple ruin to the States which should go as well as to the States which should remain. The very word was terrible in the ears of men who had just achieved political and commercial independence, and knew that both would be completely sacrificed by dismemberment. In 1861 the United States and the Confederate States would each have been constituted a great nation, but in 1800 no re speciable power could have been formed by any subdivision of the whole. Upon this dread Hamilton and his political associates inid hold as the lever with which to pry one rib after another from the Constitution. When the Funding bill was to be passed under circumstances which enriched a class of favored speculators and formed a" Treasury party" in Congress, the Union was said to be in danger. When the State debts were to be assumed, it was insisted that the project of separation had already taken form; and when the national bank, the parent of "the monster" of Jackson's time, was brought forward, its paps alone were capable of nursing a strong confederacy, and contenting its several members in the same family. But this could not continue: the practice ceased with the pretext; and the people real fixed the mischief which had been accomplished In the mean time. At the close of the Adams administration, with its extravagance and corruption, its British sympathies, its alien and sedition laws, its judicial outrages, its whippings of editors, its prisons filled with the victime of political persecution, the revulsion came, and the ever-infamous attempt, so like that of 1876, to seat a President against the will of the people, completed the good work. The Federalist party and all its belongings were swept away for the time, and no man of that reneration saw its foul head raised again. "The Constitution was saved," said Jefferson.
"at the last gast." The people and the States reclaimed the rights which had been fliched from them; the doctrine of "Implied powers in the Hamiltonian sense was decidedly neg-

state was put on her Republican tack again:" armaments were reduced; simplicity and economy became the rule; the Federal tax gatherer disappeared; the public debt was discharged; the torritore of the nation was doubled; the political prisoner came forth from his dangeon; the liberty of speach and of press were restored; and the golden age of the republic passed like a cloudiess summer under the illustrious line of Virg nia Presidents.

BISTORY REPEATING ITSELP, But to realize the fleree and stubborn spirit with which these old Federalists resisted the grand reclamation of popular rights as proposed by the Republicans under Jefferson, one must turn over many a musty page which in the light of events possesses none but a painful interest. The noblest men that ever lived in all the tide of time were denounced as the common enemies of religion and of society. The people demanding only a faitaful observance of the Constitution were "the rabble," preparing in the sources of the Democratic clubs all the horrors of the French revolution, and Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin, and their compatriots were Jacobins and disunionists, as those who now propose to stay the progress of centralization are Copperheads and Secessionists. Their contest was shorter, perhaps sharper, than this one; they had far less powerful material interests to contend with; the moneyed oligarchy was less fire.ly intrenched, and the patronage of the Government was a bagatelie in comparison; but as the people won then, so will they win again. Their sober judgment will ever be the same. They will keep the Union; but they will not submit to the empire. Having completed the defences of the one, they will make short work of the other. "Power has," in-deed, in the language of President Garfield, been gravitating toward the general Government" at an appalling rate during the last decade and a half; and to the superficial observer it may appear that Hamilton waxes while Jefferson wanes. But it is not impossible-in truth, it is extremely probable-that the limit has been reached, and, very nearly the same conditions existing now as then, the Federalist entastrophe of 1800 is again at hand,

A simple statement of the systems of Hamilton and Jefferson-the one the ideal of the Republican party and the other the ideal of the Democratic party-will sufficiently account for the action of the people whenever their "sober judgment," unvexed by any other issue, has een called to decide between them. For a free name intending to remain free there can be but one choice. The question is a perfectly plain one, between a fixed written constitution and a constitution capable of indefinite expansion in any direction considered desirable by its administrators, between a government of limited and a government of unlimited powers. between the republic and the empire. Our foreathers rendered their decision between the two in the adoption of the Constitution of 1787, in the adoption of the amendments proposed by he first Congress, and in the total repudiation of the Federalists in 1800, who had undertaken to accomplish by forced construction what they had failed to accomplish by fundamental enactment.

HAMILTON'S PLAN OF A COUNCIVE UNION. Hamilton's earliest dream respecting the new Government was of a grand, costly, magnificent 'Coercive Union"-a dream which he found time o elaborate in the very heat of the revolution. The British Constitution was his ideal, and its worst features were those which he distinguished by his heartiest approbation. He made no secret of his conviction that, while it was as t stood the most perfect government ever devised by man, the extension of the suffrage, or the curtailment of the power of the ministry to procure corrupt parliamentary majorities by the patronage of the Crown, would render it abortive. Upon this model, with all its defects, which in his eyes were but so many virtues, he longed to fashion the institutions of the New World. His fundamental postulate was, not that the people should govern, but that they should be governed, and his next, that there were but two methods of governing them well, namely, by force and by interest. When therefore he appeared in the convention of 1787, nobody was surprised by the extraordinary scheme of empire which he tm, reved an early occasion to develope. Here is the outline: its first step was the extinction of the States. they could not coexist with a national government. For the rest he promoted to follow us specially careful to give constitutional sanction to the worst abuses of that system. "It is said with us," said he, "to be unattainable. If was once formed it would maintain itself. Al communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born; the other the mass of the people. The voice of the peot le has been said to be the voice d God; and however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true in fact. The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give, there fore, to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the Government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second, and as they cannot receive any advantage by a change, they therefore will ever maintain good government. Can democratic assembly, who annually revolve in the mass of the people, be supposed steadily to pursue the public good? Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence of democracy. Their turbulent and uncontrolling disposition requires checks. . . It is admitted that you cannot have a good Executive on the democratic plan. See the excellency of the British Executive! He is placed above mptation; he can have no interests distinct from the public welfare. Nothing short of such an Executive can be efficient. * * Let one body of the Legislature be constituted during

good behavior or life. Let one Executive be appointed who dares cute his powers.

"It may be asked, is this a republican system It is strictly so as long as they remain elective. and let me observe that an Executive is less langerous to the libertles of the people when in office during life than for seven years. * * *

"Let electors be appointed in each of the intes to elect the Executive there Mr. H. prouced his plan), to consist of two branches, and would give them the unlimited power of passing all laws without exception. (The sentence stands thus in Tutes's minutes.) The Assembly o be elected for three years by the people in districts, the Senate to be elected by electors hosen for that purpose by the people, and to remain in office during life. The Executive t have the power of negativing all laws; to make war or peace with the advice of the Senate; to make treaties with their advice, but to have the sole direction of all military operations, and to send ambassadors and appoint all military officers and to pardon all offenders, treason excepted, unless by advice of the Senate. On its death or removal, the President of the Senate to officiate, with the same power, until another is elected. Supreme judicial officers to be appointed by the President and the Senate The Legislature to appoint courts in each State so as to make the State Governments unneces-

sary to it. 'All State laws to be absolutely void which ontravens the general laws. An officer to be appointed in each State to have a negative on all State laws. All the militia and the appointment of officers to be under the national Gov-

ernment. "I confess that this plan and that from Virginia are very remote from the people. Perhaps the Jersey plan is nearest their expects. ions. But the people are gradually ripening in their opinions of government; they begin to be tired of an excess of democracy; and what even is the Virginia plan, but pork still, with a little change of the sauce?"

HAMILTON'S POINT OF ATTACK.

These were Col. Hamilton's "ideas of a suitable plan of government." They were received by the Convention with silence, not to say conmpt, and were heard of no more. The men of Revolution had even less taste for that sort government than the men of to-day; and . Hamilton and his few advanced friends. atived, and the process of consolidation was not ling in their plan of monarchy, were forced marair arrested, but reversed. "The ship of to make rejuctant choice between the several | pecially for the country, which, in his eyes, | was always for improving every opportunity

plans of the republicans. They ate the "pork," but they never so much as pretended that they

But the Constitution had passed without a hill of rights, and without a declared rule of construction; and the advocates of strong government were not without hope. There was room for a wide difference of interpretation and, with favorable administrations. Hamilton foresaw the possibility of building up an immense superstructure, undreamed of by the framers, upon the basis of implied powers. There had crept into the preamble, through "mere inattention," as Malison put it, "to the phraseolozy," a few words copied from the articles of contederation, and these words-"to provide for he common defence and the general welfare" taxen alone, and without reference to the enumeration of specific powers in the body of the instrument, seemed comprehensive enough to warrant the assumption of any conceivable autherity, Hamilton therefore favored the adoption of the Constitution. He saw in it but the germ of the government of the future; it would grow, it would expand; a fixed Constitution was to him au absurdity; power would "gravitate" to the centre; "the rich and the well born" would gradually assert themselves over the swinish "many," and with this elimination of what he was pleased to call "pork" from the working charter, the "few" would ultimately assume the "distinct and permanent share" of authority which properly belonged to them.

THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS. The States hesitated to ratify the Constitution in this form; it was clearly a most hazardous experiment; but the great name of Washington, and the clear understanding that he would become the first President, overbore the better judgment of the firmest Republicans. But, unfortunately for Hamilton's scheme of revolution by construction, the first Congress supplied the declaration of rights, and the inflexble rule of interpretation, in the ten amend ments which were immediately proposed and ratified. Indeed, most of the States had ratifled only upon the distinct understanding that those amendments should be made; and in nearly every case the all-important tenth amendment-"The powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively. or to the people"-was strengously insisted upon. Even Col. Hamilton's own New York put this in her declaration of rights which accon panied the ratification, with peculiar solemnity and uncommon precision of words.

Col. Hamilton had now nothing left to stand apon but the half dozen inadvertent words of the preamble, limited and restrained as they were by the specific grants in the operative words of the Constitution. But he did not despair. He was confident that this small piece of clastic material in the framework of the new Sovernment might be stretched out wide enough to support banks, paper-money, corpo rations, internal improvements, bounties, subsidies, armies, an aristocracy of money, patronage to corrupt and force to intimidate the people. No sooner was the Constitution put in operation than he appeared in that identical place where, of all others, an administration hostile n its whole spirit might be readily engineered. Vashington had applied to Robert Morris for advice on the finances. Great as were his services in the Revolution, Morris was a testy old aristocrat. He was then just fresh from Paris, where he had spent months shut up in his house curaing Jacobins. He was heartily sick of Domocrats, perhaps of Republicans, and ecommended Hamilton to the task for which he had no stomach himself.

PROGERSS TOWARD MONABORY.

We have here neither space nor inclination to ecapitulate the history of the first administration. Much of it Washington sincerely re gretted; much of it he permitted to be made with evident reluctance; and it is clear now that if he had really proved the figure of clay which he was expected to be in the hands of his leading Minister, the Government would have been revolutionized before it was fairly inaugurated. Hamilton's measures were all of a piece, taken in due succession and with : single view. The Funding bill was a grand speculation. It was matured and promulgated in such a manner as to enable the favorities of the Treasury to realize wrong. This reliance cannot deceive us as long electors. Hamilton wrote the Governor im-Congress were permitted to participate the clunder, and so was formul the " Treasury nearly as might be the British model, being ated immediately the nucleus of that moneyed aristogram-the holders of the public debt. suddenly enriched by the very act of nequiring it-which Hamilton believed would ultimately become the great conservative force in the Goverament. The assumption of the State debts ollowed in the same direction; another specuation, more influence to the Treasury, a furher increase of the debt, and of the power of the debtholders. Then came the bank, With that "monster" and its progeny the Hercules of Damocracy has been contending, with brief intervals, ever since. The Treasury Report on Manufactures was a more expunsion of the sysem. It undertook to establish the doctrine that Congress might take the money of one class of citizens and give it to another under nies of encouraging a desirable industry. It laid the foundation of monopoly deep and wide. Here to be sure, was a fine beginning! Patronage corruption, manipulation of the debt, banking, paper money, bountles, monopoly! When to this was added mystery the circle was com ploted. Jefferson charged that Hamilton deliberately mystified the accounts of the Treasury, so that neither Congress nor the people could unrave! them.

THE POLMS.

But Hamilton understood also the value of ceremony as an accessory to power, and he prescribed a system of absurd for ralities to govern the intercourse of the President with his fellow citizens. He went in a coach and six, attended by outriders in livery, and followed by members of the Administration in a coach and four, with a numerous and stately retinue, to open Congress, and then delivered his message like a king's speech. Congress, having acreed upon an "address" in reply to the speech, nitended the President in a body to present it. All forms of etiquette were arranged to the minutest particular after the manner of European courts. The greater part of it was extremely irksome and distasteful to Washington, and there is reason to believe that of som of it he was subsequently almost ashamed; but he was persuaded to submit to it, as being necessary to maintain the dignity of Government Hamilton even went so far as to suggest that no citizen, private or official, should be permitte a private interview with the President, except members of the Sennie, who, like the pears of France, should alone enjoy this high privilege. Still he was not satisfied. The experiment had aucceeded better than he expected, but he said "It is my opinion, though I do not publish it i Dan or Beersheba, that the present government is not that which will answer the ends of society by giving stability and protection to it rights, and that it will probably be found expedient to go into the British form.

This was "the system of Hamilton," which we are informed is to supersed the "system of Jefferson," upon which the Union was founded. and upon which it flourished in liberty, peac and security for more than half a century-or to be exact, from the moment a genuine republican administration, sincerely cherishing the principles of the Constitution, came into power in 1801, until the last Democratic Administra tion went out of power in 1861. The brief in trusions of the Whige in 1840 and in 1848. scarcely amounted to interruptions, since their measures were never suffered to succeed, and the popular mind on each occasion reverted promptly to the tried rules of Democratic Administration, whose value these now departures only served to illustrate.

JEFFEESON'S DEVOTION TO LIBERTY.

Jefferson was a born Democrat. He not only believed firmly in the right of the neonle to govern themselves, but in their ability to do it better than it ever had been or ever could be done by power derived from any other source. Fortunately for mankind, and fortunately es-

was biessed by God and nature beyond every other, he came upon the stage of action at, perhaps, the only time in history, and the only place in the world, where his gospel of absolate human freedom could be put in successful competition with the heary abuses of kingship, of statecraft, of aristocracy, or, as Mr. Hamilton had it, of the "rich and the well-born." It would be interesting, were it within the scope of this paper, to follow him through his extraedinary career of radical reform in Virginiathe act of religious freedom, the abolition of the right of primogeniture, and of the law of entails, the code which came round and perfect from his hands, with every ancient right of Englishmen restored and fixed in the nice precision of the common law terms, his flerce opposition to the slave trade, his poble efforts for complete emancipation, and his great labors in the cause of free popular education.

Mr. Jefferson held that the American colonies were and ever had been free States. It was not a new thought when he embodied it in the Declaration of Independence. Each distinct society in the New World was as independent as Great Britain hersolf. With her they owed a common allegiance to the Crown; but her Parliament had no power to make laws for them any more than for Hanover. Their several Legislatures ordained their several laws. and within the limits of each the King was as firmly bound by those laws as he was by the acts of Parliament in the three kingdoms. This theory was boldly advanced by Mr. Jefferson long before the older statesmen of Virginia were prepared to accept it. But it was the only theory upon which the Revolution could proceed either legally or logically; and when he came to draw the Declaration of Independence it had become the doctrine of the patriot party through the continent. That immortal document is an arraignment of the King for a series of political crimes, whereby he had absolved his American subjects from their allegiance precisely as the Whigs contended King James had absolved all Englishmen in 1688. It did not make the colonies free and independent States. It merely declared the fact that they then were free and independent States, and in the exercise of a right belonging to them in that capacity they severed their connection with a hostile King. The result of the war was the acknowledgment of the independence of each separate Commonwealth, and upon this stupendous truth rested Mr. Jefferson's whol political system then and ever afterward. JEFFERSON'S FAITH IN THE PROPLE.

Mr. Jefferson was in France when the Con-

rention of 1787 finished its work. From that

good hour when he instituted the Virginia Committee of Correspondence with a distinct riew to early confederation, he had pursued the scheme of closer union between the States with eager assiduity, and he had watched the course of late events from his distant standpoint with intense anxiety. When the Constitution reached him he was charmed at first glance with the symmetrical framework of the new Governnent; with its power "to go on of itself, peace ably, without needing continual recurrence to the State Legislatures;" with its wise distribution of powers, and with its "compromise of the opposits claims of the great and little States. of the latter to equal, and of the former to proportional influence." But he was struck with amazement by the omissions. The lack of a bill of rights was a fatal defect. He desired such a bill, containing all the provisions of the first ten amendments, and some others, which posterity has had reason, and may yet have more, to regret that he was unable to secure. He earnestly protested against the perpetual reeligibility of the President, and against "standing armies in time of peace," and he wished to guard against" monopolies," the ripe fruits of which were then visible in France, by the nost rigid constitutional restrictions. But he strongly urged the adoption of the instrument as it stood, together with instructions to the representatives of each ratifying State to procurs at once the proposal to the Legislatures of the necessary amendments. His faith in the people of his day was unbounded. "After all, he said, "it is my principle that the will of the majority should prevail. If they approve the proposed Constitution in all its parts, I shall concur in it cheerfully, in hones that they will amend it whonever they shall flud it works a Legislature pledged to choose Republican large fortunes in a twinkling. Members of as we remain virtuous, and I think we shall be so as long as agriculture is our principal object, which will be the case while there remain vaband" in the two Houses. Here also was cre- | cant lands in any part of America. When we get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, we shall become corrupt as in Europe and go to enting one another as they do there. He foresaw, it appears, clearly enough the process by which moneyed and manufacturing interests would first corrupt, and then pervert the Government to enable them to devour the earnings of the people when, at some remote period, population should concentrate for work and bread in a few great contres; but even his prophetic ken was unequal to the conception that "monopoly" would ever usurp uncounted millions of acres of the " vacant lands of America," and fling them also into the scale agains liberty and justice!

> JEFFERSON IN WASHINGTON'S CABINET. When Jefferson took his seat in the Cabinet of Washington he found a most extraordinary state both of public affairs and of society. Hamfiton's plans were already well under way. The Treasury had "instinuated its power into both Houses of Congress," The Funding bil had passed; the Assumption bill was matured and the bank was about to be born. Jefferson and Hamilton were the recornized leaders of the two parties, then almost as distinct as at any time since. They were thrown together at almost every meeting "like cocks in the pit." Randolph supported Jefferson with enlightened zeal. Knox, a great honest giant, was the mere echo of Hamilton. He believed in his little col league and big guns; and that was his whole confession of political faith. Washington en deavored to hold the balance even between them Both his great Secretaries enjoyed his persona confidence: but Jefferson always contended that he did not comprehend the "drift" o Hamilton's measures. He signed the Bank bil with hesitation, not because he approved the principle, but in deference to the will of the Legislature. "He was true to the republican charge conflited to him, and has selemnly and repeatedly protested to me," says Jufferson 'in our conversations, that he would shed the last drop of his blood in support of it, and he did this the oftener and with the more earnestness, because he knew my anapleions of Hamil ton's designs against it, and wished to quiet

But it was the tone of society and the talk of the drawing rooms and dinner tables which most astonished the Democratic Secretary of State. Classes were already formed and the divisions officially recognized, and, amid the pomp and ceremony instituted by Hamilton, the prevailing sentiment sounded strangely unrepublican in the ears of the author of the Declaration of Independence. The sympa thies of this pseudo aristocracy were unreservedly British, and the late Ambassador to France was not a little shocked by the comments he was forced to hear on the mild begin nings of the French revolution, to which every friend of liberty was then a hearty well-wisher He soon ascertained that while the Secretary of State could not well be excluded from these se lect circles, he was not especially welcome Hamilton's candor alone was entirely unabash ed in his presence. Mr. Adams, who was a con vert to the principle of monarchy, but wished elective and honest, said at table: "Purge that (the British) Constitution of its corrug tion, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would be the most per feet Constitution over devised by the wit of man." To which Hamilton, after a significant pause, rejoined: " Parge it of its corruption, and give to its popular branch equality of rep resentation, and it would become an impractica ble government; as it stands at present, with all its supposed defects, it is the most period Government which ever existed."

THE PEDERALISTS IN POWER, Upon Mr. Jefferson's retirement the Pederalists assumed "unchecked control." Hamilton

for increasing and displaying the military power of the Government, and he longed for some domestic case in which a "striking exhibition" of this sort might be made. The socailed Whiskey Insurrection furnished him a pretext, and he not only marched an army to suppress on Insurrection which had no existence, but he trampled in brutal triumph upon an unoffending people, who had peaceably submitted to every requirement of Government before a soldier had crossed the Aliezhanics. It is a fact that Hamilton without any authority, civil or military, organized a mixed commission of his own to inflict his will upon the inhabitants of western Pennsylvania, and most singular it is that history has taken so little note of that, the worst, the basest, and the boldest crime against liberty and law since the

adoption of the Constitution. The Adams Administration has, by common consent, become the object of universal execration. If it had any redeeming features beyond the personal integrity of the infatuated men who composed it, history has failed to mention them. The British craze pervaded it from first to last; and the excesses of the French revolution, together with the celebrated X. T. Z. affair, whereby it was made to appear that Taileyrand had endeavored to extort from the American Ambassadors a large sum as the price of a treaty, had set the tide with momentary but tremendous force in favor of the British party. The Hamilton measures were continued, and others even more odious and in more flagrant violation of the Constitution were added. The Allen law enabled the President to banish foreigners at pleasure, and was aimed especially at the French republicans. The Sedition law was intended to silence criticism, and it was rigorously and brutally enforced. The country was pushed to the verge of war with France and to the edge of a most unnatural alliance with England; and this-long after the determination of France to keep the peace with us at any price had been known-was made the pretext of great military and naval establishments, involving an enormous increase of the public debt, both of which were in themselves primary objects of Federalist policy. Pulpit and press teemed with "maniacal ravings" regarding the Jacobins of France and their alleged friends and allies, the Republicans of America. Every excess, every horror of the French revolution were predicted as the natural consequences of the triumph of Jeffer sonian Democracy, among the least of which were the dissolution of the Union and bloody marchy. We say the least deliberately, for in the dream of diabolism which haunted the desperate Federalist of that day were things

which may not even be written. Jefferson had been elected Vice-President with Adams. He remained at his post and guided the contest at the seat of government But many of the Republican leaders gave up the conflict in Congress, and went into the State Legislatures "to rouse the people" to just school of their danger. Gallatin alone remained in the House, where the Federalist members shouled him down, and inflicted every indignity possible in such a body. There was talk even of "deportation" of obnoxious ersons, and the Attorney-General was as ready as any Attorney-General of them all, from he first of Adams to the last of Orant, to lend himself to any outrage that power deemed ex pedient. "No man who did not witness it can form an idea of their unbridled madness and the terrorism with which they surrounded

thomselves." THE PROPLE AWARE.

But the Federalists had pushed their plan of entralization too boldly. When the people saw that they had "been duped into the support of measures calculated to sapthe very foundations of republicanism." they swent the offending party from the councils of the nation, to reapcar again only after the lapse of more than half a century, when the crimes of its ancesto had been forgotten, to run the same course and

to meet, it is to be hoped, the same fate. The election of 1800 resulted in the choice of efferson and Adams. But the party which held power, like the party which held power is 1876, could not afford to lay it down at the bidling of the people, and they determined, if possible, to hold on by fraud, and, if necessary, by force. The people of New York having elected ploring him to assemble the existing Federalist changing the law; but the Governor quietilaid the letter away with an endorsement ind! cating his deep sense of the infamy of the pro posal, and that was the end of the first attemp to tamper with the electoral vote of a State. Then they resolved to clost Burr and trust for their protection to his treachery and his gratifule. Failing in that, they conceived the project of defeating an election altogether, and installing the President of the Sanate, a scheme which was abandoned only because the majority of 1800 was made of sterner stuff than the majorty of 1876. When every other resource had been exhausted they resorted to the ineffable baseness of attempting to bargain with Jefferson himself, but their overtures were rejected with contempt. The Federalist party was dead; like all such parties, it was rotten before

it was dead, and a hasty interment was the only decent thing it could demand. In obedience to the will of the people complied with only after a long and perilous con test in the House, Mr. Jefferson became President on the 4th of March, 1801. As a more literary production, the inaugural was simply perfect; while as a statement of fundamental theories and republican principles of conduct. it became at once, and remains to this day, very Scripture of Democratic faith. And the two administrations which followed came fully up to the prociamation. To this hour it is un certain whether the first Democratic President rode on horseback and almost alone to the placof his inauguration, or "walked up from hi iodging house attended by a few gentlemen." At all events, the ceremony was of the simplest and plainest. When he reached the White House the whole of the old Hamiltonian system of courtly etiquette was brushed away; the hand of the republican President was freely given to every citizen, and his ear to every complaint. He communicated with Congress by written essage, and dispensed with the absurd parade

of the address to the Executive. But the "Monocrats" died hard. To the last ioment of its existence the Adams administration continued to struggle against fate. Ham liton's plan of augmenting the weight of the Government by "cutting the States into convenient districts" and setting up a crowd of new Judges had been partly adopted, and John Marshall was busy until midnight of the 34 of March preparing these commissions, when Levi Lincoin, by order of Jefferson, summarily relieved him, so summarily that Marshall de clared he was allowed to take nothing away bu his hat. The commissions were withheld, and the" midnight Judges" never sat. This done, the prisons were opened, and the languishing victims of the unconstitutional Sodition law se free. Then, with his illustrious Cabinet, Madison, Gallatin, Smith, Dearborn, and Lincoln, he began the great work of reducing the Govern ment in every department to a state of republi can simplicity.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE REPUBLIC. Mr. Jefferson's sovereign cure for all the

ills of the State was the introduction of the most rigid ecomomy; a frugal government is seldom corrupt and nover or pressive. He cut down the great military and naval establishments bequeathed by the Federalists as rapidly as the law permitted. and finally, with the aid of Congress, reduced the army to about three thousand men, which were all that an honest government had any use for. He reduced the diplomatic force to the three Ministers at London, Paris, and Madrid. He dismissed unnecessary officials as fast as investigation disclosed their existence He directed Gallatin to simplify the Treasury statements and accounts, so as to render them intelligible to the plainest citizen, and invited every aid in the work of reform. The whole system of internal taxation, including threefourths of the whole civil list, was abolish ed at a blow, and the deficiency supplied by Jefferson's invariable expedient, economy.

When he had exhausted his discretion beappealed to Congress for authority to make further reductions, and the curious spectacle was presented of an Executive petitioning the Legislature for permission to surrender power and to give up patronage. The result was the rapid decrease of the public debt, which the Pederalists had regarde t as a "national blessinc." and the rise of a new question, new, indeed, in every part of the earth: What should be done with the surplus? Of this government. In truth, the people knew nothing but the blessings; its burdens were imperceptible. This was "the system of Jefferson." It was faithfully continued under his lineal descendants, Madison and Monroe. and has never for an instant of time ceased to command the deliberate approval of the American people. If it has been displaced by corrupt administrations, they have never yet dared to go to the country upon their Federalist principles. They have uniformly disguised their measures, denied their purposes, and ridden into power upon false pretences. When Gen. Garfield said the principles of Jefferson were waning, he meant only to say that the special interests, opposed to popular liberty, and depending for their existence upon Federal consolidation, corruption, and extravagance, were gaining. But ther gained in like proportion from 1790 to 1800. The power of "few" seemed then as impregnable as now. Hamilton believed that the election of Adams in 1790 had sanctioned the civil revolution, impressed upon the Constitution the quality of expansiveness, settled practically the question between the "British model" and the hybrid abortion of 1787, and confirmed the power of the Federalists for all time. Gen. Garffold interprets recent elections

have passed away. THE JEFFERSON CLUBS.

in the same way, and is just as much mistaken.

The interests of the people remain the same

neither their rights nor their determination to

when, as in 1800, the special causes of delusion

But Mr. Jefferson loved to see the neonle move a their primary capacity; the less they trusted o their representatives and the more they rusted to themselves the greater was the safety. These governments were theirs, "by the people and for the people;" they should manage them, and "eternal vigilance was the price of liberty." Accordingly, in every hour of peril he advised them to organize, to deliberate, to agitate, to come together in local societies, which, being connected by the ties of fraternal interest and correspondence, might pass the signals of danger from one to another, " like that shephard's whistle which, sounding through the listening stillness of the light, gives warning that the wolf is upon his walk again." It was the voluntary local associntions, the vigilance committees, the commitees of correspondence, which lent the strong est impulse to the revolution; and it was the voice of the people rising in thunder tones through the many throats of the "Democratic societies" which struck terror to the hearts of the Federalists in 1800. The popular club is the chosen engine of liberty everywhere; and the Jeffersonian Ciub, planted in every neighborhood, is the one thing needful to "rouse the people," as aforetime thay were roused by Jefferson, Madison, and Callatin. Shall we not take this leaf also from he handbook of freedom which comes down to us from the "author of the Declaration of Independence and the founder of the Democratic party?" As he lay dying, on the 3d of July, 1826, his mighty intellect, half released from its embarrassment of flesh, reverted fondly to this system of popular machinery for the security of popular rights. Fancying the struggle again in progress, he cried out, "Warn the committees!" and rising in the bed, he seemed to be tracing with eager but shrunken hand a despatch to the embodied patriots. These were almost his last vords. The next day being the Fourth, and the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration, he passed away at high noon, and in the very hour of its adoption. When he shall have "waned," when his teachings shall have lost their influence, when his memory shall have consed to be dear, the free institutions of America will be no

THE SYSTEM OF JEFFERSON.

Mr. Jefferson had a scientific mind of the highest order, and he gave to his doctrines the simplest and clearest expositions of which they were capable. Such expositions, precise and beautiful, at once exact and comprehensive, are found scattered throughout his political writings. The most familiar are those in the first maugaral, and in the letter to Mr. Gerry (p. 267, vol. 4, of his works). The following brief statements comprise the whole system:

The tenth amendment to the Constitution is an inflexible rule of construction, the sacred and comprehensive guarantee of American liberty.

The support of the State Governments in all "The support of the State Governments in all their rights, as the most comestor administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general Government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad."

An honest administration of the Government, which implies not merely a just application of the public moneys to the public service, but a faithful observance of the limitations of the Constitution. Of applicants for office three questions only need be asked: "Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?"

A number of officials sufficient for the transaction of the public business; no supernumeraries to eat out the substance of the people.

A diplomatic establishment limited to the public necessities; nothing for paradle; nothing for patronage.

A number of officine sufficient for the transaction of the public business; no supernumeraries to eat out the substance of the neonie.

A diplomatic establishment limited to the public necessities; nothing for parade; nothing for parametronare.

A sleepless jealousy of standing armies; a marcenary lorce always dangerous to liberty; the military embodiment of the people in the states the surest safeguard of public peace and domestic rights.

The money collected by taxation to be expended only on the objects specified in the Constitution. It may not be distributed to favorities in the form of boundes or of substities, nor given away in charity. He urged the State Dominico sufferers, but he denied the right of Congress to grant them a dollar.

Economy in the public expenditures, not only that the people may be lightly burdened, but that the purple of the Administration may be preserved. Extravacance is the parent of corruption, and coveruption is the parent of corruption, and coveruption is the parent of neurolation, and coveruption is the parent of neurolation. A public fined is a public enemy, there was not windle to provide one class of citizans under tribute to another; duties laxied for revenue, and discriminations permissible only against those countries which discriminate against us. Free commerce with all nations, entangling alliances with nea. He held that all restrictions upon the freedom of trade were but remnants of Darfarism, and a state of things in which any people, wherever, situated, might freely exchance is surplus for the surplus of any other would produce the greatest sum of human happiness.

The power to prosecute internal improvements belongs to the States; whether would produce the greatest sum of human happiness.

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The power to pr

CHAUNCEY F. BLACE.

SOME NEW ROOKS.

The History of Woman Suffrage. We have long needed an authentic and ex-

naustive account of the m vement for the enfranchisement of women, which during the last forty years has made considerable progress in this country. The materials for such a coview are scattered through a multitude of lectures, pamphlets, newspaper articles, public doen-ments, and the records of conventions, and their compilation has entailed an immense amount of hard work. The authors of the book before us The History of Woman Sufraget Fowler & Wells.) REO ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, SUSAN B. AN. THOSY, and MATILDA J. GAGE. The scope of their design may be interred from the fact that while only a part of their undertaking is accomplished, the first installment of their narrative fills a large octave volume of nearly 900 pages. Properly speaking, the book is not so much in itself a history, us a vast magazine of data collected and arranged for the vse of the future historian. Not a few of the innumerable details here registered may appear at first sight insignificant, but, as one of the editors remarks in the preface, it is still too early to determine the relative importance of events and agents in a propaganda whose success is still by no means assured. With the exception of two chapters, in which the status of woman in ancient and modern times is somewhat comprehensively surveyed, the volume now published is devoted to the agitation for woman's rights in America, which may be said to have begun with the Convention held in the State of New York in 1848, and which has since been pressed with more or less persistency and effecliveness in the Northern States. The contemporary progress of the movement in the Old World will be traced in a second volume.

In a chapter entitled Woman, Church, and State,

maintain them have changed. Jefferson's sim-Mrs. Gage, one of the editors, has done a useful ple faith in their ultimate good sense was justiwork by pointing out that woman's improved fled on the first great occasion for the exercise position in recent times is by no means entirely of their "sober judgment," and there can be no lue to Christianity. It is an unquestionable reasonable doubt that it will be justified again, fact that in many ancient civilizations the female sex secured a notable degree of respect and power, as compared even with that which she now enjoys amid the most enlightened Christian communities. While we cannot confirm the assertion made in the first chapter of this volume, that "in ancient Egypt the medical profession was in the hands of women," it is true that the position of women under the Pharaohs was more secure and honorable than it was under the Ptolemies, or than it became afterward under Moslem rulers. In China, as Signor Saco has shown in his "Historia de la Esclavitud," the situation of women has at all times been broadly distinguished from one of servitude, and has been, on the whole, decidedly superior to the position they have occupied in Japan. Even in India, the status of woman was signally improved during the prevalence of Buddhism, and in farther India, where the Buddhist faith is still dominant, the privileges enjoyed by women exhibit an imnense advance on the servile condition which is their inevitable lot in Moslem countries. In Persia, under the Achemenid monarchy, the respect paid to women of royal or noble blood was often recorded with astonishment by Greek observers, who had witnessed nothing of the kind in Hellenic civilization. The species of reverence in which the female sex was held among the Germanic nations in their primitive abodes, had become known to Tacitus in the first century of our era, and became familiar to the Roman world during the period which beheld the Teutonic conquest of the Western Empire. Touching the high position which woman had attained under Roman law. before the introduction of Christianity, a weighty paragraph is cited by Mrs. Gage from H. S. Maine, "At this time," says Maine, "the jurisconsults had evidently assumed the equality of the sexes as a principle of the code of equity. The situation of the Roman woman, whether married or single, became one of great personal and property independence." He goes on to argue that "Christianity tended from the very first to narrow this remarkable liberty. The prevailing state of religious sentiment may explain why modern jurisprudence has adopted rules regarding the position of woman which belonged peculiarly to an imperfect civilization." In his judgment no society which "preserves any tineture of married women the personal liberty conferred on them by middle Roman law." Maine thinks that canon law-which both directly and indirectly has been so largely modelled on Hebrew ordinances-has deeply injured civilization.

> It is unquestionable that women were admitted to the priesthood in almost all pagen nations, and Mrs. Gage is warranted in affirming that the proof of woman's taking part in the offices of the primitive Christian Church-notwithstanding the prejudices of Paul and other Hebrew converts-is to be found in the very restrictions which at a later period were to beplaced upon her. The doctrine of woman's original sin lies at the base of the religious and political disqualifications under which she has labored in Christian communities. To Augustine we are indebted for the full development of this dogma, which the greater part of the fathers of the Greek Church, before his time, had rejected. Taught, henceforth, as one of the most sacred mysterius of religion, which to question was to hazard eternal demnation, it at once exerted a most powerful and repressing influence upon woman, fastening upon her a bondage which the civilization of the nineteenth century has not been able wholly to cast off. According to St. Chrysostom, "Woman is a necessary evil; a domestic peril: a deadly fascination:" and from the seventh to the eleventh century the most pronounced doctrine of the Church was that through woman sin had been introduced into the world; that her whole tendency been for the unfortunate oversight of her creation, man would be dwelling in the innocence and happiness of Eden. The Church, looking upon woman as under a curse, considered man as God's divinely appointed agent for its enforcement, and deemed the restrictions she suffered under Christianity only parts of a just punishment for having caused the fall of man. Christian theology thus at once struck a blow at the old belief in woman's equality conballed in the customary laws of the Teutonic nations. and in the Roman civil law. It hade woman stand aside from sacerdotal functions. forbidding her to speak in the churches, and by various decretals taught that she was deflied through the physical peculiarities of her nature. It placed the legitimation of marriage under priestly control, secured to husbands the right of divorce for causes not freeing the wife, and so far set its ban upon the matrimental relation as to hold single women far above the wife and mother in point of holiness. We need not say that the refusal of the priestly office to women carrying with it a dental of the benefit of dercy. was a grave disability in mediæval times, when many offences which subjected an ecclesia-tiefe only moderate penalties were visited with ear ital punishment in the case of a lay transgress it. Mrs. Gage points out, however, that the

exclusion of women from the prinsthood. running counter as it did to the cust ma and sentiments, not only of the Roman world. but of all Germanie peoples, was a long and difficult process. As late as A. D. 824 the Council of Paris complained bitterly that women still served at the altar, and even gave to the people the body and blood of Christ. Only eight years previously the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle found it necessary to prohibit abbesses from taking upon themselves any pricetly function. have, of course, through these canons, the nezntive proof that for many hundred years women preached, baptized, administered the eactament, and filled various offices of the Church.

Tracing the gradual encreachments of cause law upon the civil and common law. Mrs. Gas? shows how the former became supreme in the family relation through its control over wills. the guardianship of orphans, marriage, and divorce. Wherever it became the basis of lest islation, the rules of succession and inheritance and the laws in regard to children eacrificed the interests of wives and daughters to those of husbands and sons. Under ecclesiasti-